1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the men of the settlement who are related to the bride by blood or marriage. The object of this expedition is to prove the young man's fitness as a meat provider for his future family. During the early part of the day's hunt, his companions place every possible hindrance in the way of his obtaining a bag, such as making noise when a quarry has been sighted, or rocking the canoe as the hunter takes aim while on the river. This is a very hilarious occasion for the other participants and a very embarrassing one for the groom, who will be rejected if he returns empty handed. If the groom is at all acceptable to the bride's relatives, however, they usually arrange that, after a day of tribulations, he will get some sort of bag to bring home. During his residence in the settlement they have had ample opportunity to form an opinion concerning him. The hunting expedition is apparently merely a formality, as it is a rare groom who does not know fairly well whether or not he has passed the examination of his future in-laws long before the time for the final test arrives.

Upon the return of the hunting party, an offering of drink is made to the spirit of the house, a spree takes place, and the young couple settle down to married life. They usually live in the girl's settlement until the birth of the first child. Later they may move elsewhere.

A man taking a second wife, either as a widower or as the master of a polygamous household, merely requests her from her father, giving the older man some small present or services in exchange. The house-building, field-cutting, and hunting tests are not considered necessary in the case of a man who has previously been married, since he has already given evidence of his fitness.

It is apparent that marriage, coincidental with matrilocal residence, entails the acceptance of the groom by the group to which the bride belongs, which we shall call the extended family. Marriage thus involves a sort of contract between a man and his wife's group, but does not involve a contractual relationship between his own relatives and those of the bride.

After marriage a certain reserve exists between son-in-law and father-in-law. A man never gives his father-in-law direct orders or suggestions, but always speaks to his wife about the matter in hand, and she transmits her husband's ideas to the older man. On

606 the other hand, a man always speaks to his son-in-law through his daughter in similar affairs. Occasional exceptions to this rule occur in cases where the two men have been exceptionally good friends of long standing before the marriage.

A man is even more "ashamed" in the presence of his mother-in-law and, although he may see her, hardly ever speaks to her directly.

A woman's relations to her parents-in-law are also reserved, but her contact with them is rare, due to the practice of matrilocal and independent residence.

We shall describe other kinship usages revolving about the marriage relationship in our analysis of the kinship system.

833 Sexual intercourse normally takes place in the hammock in the so-called European position.

843 A woman calculates the date of parturition by counting the months from the stoppage of menstruation. When she feels the foetus move in her womb she believes that birth will take place a month hence. Calculation of the precise day is seldom attempted.

If a man desires a male child, he searches until he finds a small root of cassava which resembles a penis and testicles. At a moment when his wife has turned away from him he throws this against her back, and turns around casually as if he had done nothing. If the woman picks up the root, she will give birth to a boy. There is also said to be a method of producing a female child, but my informants did not know what it is.

842 The following method of insuring the fertility of a woman is in use. An old woman, at the behest of the husband, mixes the macerated root of a plant called murewa with rubbish and sweepings from the floor of the patient's house. This mixture is burned, and the ashes are administered to the wife in cassiri, without her knowledge.

843 During pregnancy, "after the wife has swelled up," intercourse between the spouses ceases until about a month after birth. During this time a man satisfies himself elsewhere.

Thoughts, behavior, or experiences of a woman during pregnancy are not believed to influence the personality or appearance of the child in any way.

844 At the birth the mother rests on a bed of leaves on the floor of her house. She may be assisted by other women, who exert pres-

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

These persons, whom a man calls "brothers" and "sisters," remain in a special relationship to him throughout his life. As will be seen in the study of the village of Sawari (following chapter), "brothers" tend to group together to form a settlement and assist one another in social and economic affairs in the settlement. They support one another in feuds and retaliation. A woman's brothers support her against a cruel or lazy husband. In all activities the members of the group of parallel relatives cooperate more closely than do other relatives. Membership in the group begins at birth and continues for life. Due to the customs regulating residence after marriage, there is no necessary connection between locality and the kin.

The Extended Family. A third type of grouping is the extended family, the immediate family which is, in other words, extended by marriage of its members. When a girl marries, her husband becomes, for a time at least, intimately associated with her family, because of the custom requiring the husband to perform services before marriage under the eye of his future father-in-law and after marriage to live in the father-in-law's settlement, usually at least until the birth of the first child. Thus a family, upon the marriage of its daughters, from one point of view undergoes a special transformation consequent upon the addition of strangers in the persons of sons-in-law. The sons-in-law, however, do not take the place of the sons who through marriage have joined other extended families. The husbands of the daughters are not taken into the family, which still maintains its biological limits and individuality. This is shown by the fact that special deference is paid to parents-in-law. During the period that marriage remains matrilocal, the sons-in-law cooperate actively with the fathers-in-law and with other members of the latter's families who still remain at home. Later opportunity or preference usually impels the younger man to move elsewhere, but a bond still remains between the husband and his wife's kindred which is reflected in mutual cooperation. This bond is, however, slighter than that uniting a man and his parallel kin. With the death of the wife or of the father-in-law mutual obligations are considered ended.[1]

[1] "Among the Roucuyenne and Orinoko Caribs an extensive connection between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law has arisen which has led to a regular hierarchy of graded affinal relations." Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*, p. 189.

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but through his daughter. [851] This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 496 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). [592] The adult men moved their households about freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these 175 496 593 605 [591] kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

*177 592 464 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib households. Cooperation within households developed as men were first employed by porknockers. A young boy would accompany his father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers would work together during these early opportunities. However, this is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household unit.

*177 593 464 606 [602] As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partnership persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment opportunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instrumental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory, diminished as household members became allied by employment. The general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-household, associational work relationships, the new work opportunities promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus, employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

*177 476 464

*177 464 592

broker between them. At times, rivalry was evident when a worker had been suspended for two weeks, as was the standard practice for failure to turn out for a scheduled work period. The suspended man would have his wife make a batch of cassiri, and he would hold a spree for other miners who often suspected the plot but could not resist the invitation. In turn, the guests would be too inebriated to work, and the first miner would be immediately reinstated as constant workers were needed to maintain the mining enterprise.

From the pattern of social organization attending subsistence farming in the rain forest, father and son and father and son-in-law ties have been solidified by strategies to secure employment. In this case, previous nuclear families with ties of assistance among a wider kin group, effective organization for exploiting the bush, were changed by the circumstances of the availability of employment. However, the record of impermanence regarding work opportunities and other markets has contributed to a general lack of explicitness regarding work partnerships and residential practices among the Upper Barama River Carib population during the last forty years. The organization of the population with no access to steady mining employment also has been affected by the increased availability of regional exchange opportunities. This is best detailed in the discussion of the situation during 1970-71.

Resettlement around Baramita Air Strip

The current residence situation among the Upper Barama River Carib population has resulted from the pattern described by Gillin,

seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his grandaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, nonresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.[11] Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.